

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 046592

O 270505Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7558

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 1055

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, JA

SUBJECT: JFAP MISAWA PROBLEMS

REF: TOKYO 4330 APRIL 10, 1973

1. FONMIN MIYAZAWA INFORMED ME ON JANUARY 21 THAT HE AND FINANCE MINISTER OHIRA HAVE CONCLUDED THAT GOJ CANNOT RISK SEEKING FUNDS FOR CERTAIN JFAP PROJECTS AT MISAWA. PROJECTS INCLUDE A NUMBER OF THOSE CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL TO P-3 MOVE AND MISAWA FAMILY HOUSING. (LIST OF PROJECTS SENT SEPTTEL.) MIYAZAWA EXPLAINED THAT PROBLEM ARISES BECAUSE OF SERIOUS POLITICAL CONTROVERSY EXPECTED BOTH WITHIN LDP AND IN DIET IF ATTEMPT IS MADE TO JUSTIFY THESE PROJECTS IN LIGHT OF THEN FONMIN OHIRA'S STATEMENT TO THE DIET ON MARCH 13, 1973 CONCERNING RELOCATION.

2. MIYAZAWA SAID GOJ WISHED TO PROPOSE INSTEAD THAT US UNDERTAKE THESE PROJECTS AND THAT GOJ OFFSET THIS BY PROVIDING SUBSTITUTE CONSTRUCTION OF A LIKE AMOUNT OF MILITARY CONSTRUCTION (MILCON) PLANNED BY U.S. ELSEWHERE IN JAPAN. HE SAID SUBSTITUTE CONSTRUCTION WOULD HAVE TO BE QTE MORE IN LINE WITH OHIRA VIEW UNQTE AND THAT SOME 8 BILLION YEN HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE JFY 75 BUDGET FOR THIS PURPOSE. (IN DETAILED PREVIEW OF MIYAZAWA PROPOSAL PROVIDED DCM ON JANUARY 18 BY AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTOR GENERAL YAMAZAKI, HE EXPLAINED THAT P-3 CONNECTED PROJECTS AT MISAWA COULD NOT BE JUSTIFIED AS QTE REPLACEMENT UNQTE AND THUS COULD NOT BE BROUGHT WITHIN OHIRA MARCH 13, 1973 STATEMENT.

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ACCORDING TO YAMAZAKI, PRECISE AMOUNT INCLUDED IN BUDGET IS

8.5 BILLION YEN, THE GOJ ESTIMATE OF THE CONSTRUCTION COST OF THE PROJECTS INVOLVED. FONOFF EXPLAINED TO EMBASSY THAT FUNDS ARE FOR COMMITMENT IN JFY 75 AND DISBURSEMENT IN JFY 76. YAMAZAKI ALSO SAID THAT SUBSTITUTE CONSTRUCTION WOULD HAVE TO BE WITHIN TERMS OF OHIRA VIEW ALTHOUGH GOJ WOULD INTERPRET THAT VIEW AS LIBERALLY AS POSSIBLE. HE CITED AS EXAMPLE OF POSSIBLE FLEXIBILITY THE GOJ ABILITY TO CONSTRUCT FUTEMNA RUNWAY OVERLAY, A PROJECT WHICH REQUIRED CONSIDERABLE STRETCHING OF THE OHIRA VIEW. HE COULD NOT EXPLAIN WHY SUCH FLEXIBILITY NOT POSSIBLE AT MISAWA.)

3. BACKGROUND COMMENT: DEPT WILL RECALL THAT IN MARCH 13, 1973, RESPONSE TO JSP CHARGES THAT JFAP MISAWA PROJECTS REPRESENTED UNLIMITED GOJ COMMITMENT TO EXPAND U.S. FACILITIES, FONMIN OHIRA PROVIDED DIET WITH FOLLOWING GOJ QTE UNIFIED VIEW UNQTE: QTE. THE MEASURES TO BE TAKEN WILL NOT, IN PRINCIPLE, INCLUDE NEW CONSTRUCTION WHICH WILL EXCEED THE SCOPE (OF THE FACILITY) TI BE REOKACED,. WITH REGARD TO FACILITIES AT MISAWA AND IWAKUNI, THE CONSOLIDATION PROGRAM WILL BE CARRIED OUT IN LINE WITH THE AFOREMENTIONED THROUGH DECISIONS OF THE US-GOJ JOINT COMMITTEE UNQTE. THIS STATEMENT TOGETHER WITH EXPLANATION GIVEN EMBASSY BY FONOFF REPORTED REF A. FONOFF ASSURANCE THAT QTE UNIFIED VIEW UNQTE WOULD NOT PREJUDICE IMPLEMENTATION OF JFAP WAS CONFIRMED IN FACT THAT FORMAL JOINT COMMITTEE AGREEMENT ON JFAP SIGNED JULY 27, 1973, INCLUDES MISAWA PROGRAMS NOW IN QUESTION. END BACKGROUND COMMENT.

4. MIYAZAWA EXPLAINED TO ME THAT OHIRA VIEW HAD ACTUALLY BEEN DRAFTED BY LDP EXECUTIVES OF LOWER HOUSE BUDGET COMMITTEE IN COMPROMISE EFFORT TO OVERCOME BUDGET COMMITTEE IMPASSE CREATED BY OPPOSITION QUESTIONING OF JFAP PROJECTS. OHIRA LEARNED OF THE COMPROMISE AFTER THE FACT AND ONE OF HIS STAFF WAS ABLE TO MODIFY THE QTE BLANTANTLY EXTRAORDINARY LANGUAGE UNQTE DRAFTED IN COMMITTEE ONLY TO THE EXTENT OF INSERTING THE WORDS QTE IN PRINCIPLE UNQTE. MIYAZAWA COMMENTED THAT HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT IT HAD BEEN A MISTAKE TO MAKE SUCH A STATEMENT, BUT "THAT IS WATER OVER THE DAM." THE STATEMENT "NOW IS ON THE RECORD AND BINDS US."

5. ACCORDING TO MIYAZAWA, OHIRA TOOK THE HIGHLY UNUSUAL STEP
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OF CALLING ON HIM DURING THE LAST STAGE OF BUDGET PREPARATIONS IN LATE DECEMBER 1974 TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEM POSED FOR MISAWA PROJECTS BY HIS MARCH 1973 STATEMENT. MIYAZAWA SAID THEY BOTH CONCLUDED THAT THE OPPOSITION WOULD CHALLENGE INCLUSION OF MISAWA PROJECTS IN THE BUDGET AND THAT THERE WAS LITTLE POSSIBILITY THAT THE LDP MEMBERS OF THE BUDGET COMMITTEE WOULD BACK THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION. THE RESULT MIGHT BE A DEADLOCK IN THE BUDGET COMMITTEE WHICH COULD ONLY BE RESOLVED BY

REVISING THE BUDGET TO DELETE THE MISAWA PROJECTS. SUCH REVISION OF THE GOVERNMENT BUDGET, MIYAZAWA INSISTED, WOULD BE UNPRECEDENTED, AT LEAST IN PAST TWENTY YEARS, AND COULD HAVE QTE UNCERTAIN POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES UNQTE. HE AND OHIRA HAD CONCLUDED RELUCTANTLY, THEREFORE, THAT THE ONLY PRACTICAL COURSE WAS THE PROPOSAL OUTLINED IN PARA 2 ABOVE.

6. I TOLD MIYAZAWA THAT THE EMBASSY HAD STUDIED MATTER CAREFULLY, BASED ON YAMAZAKI PREVIEW, AND HAD CONCLUDED THE PROPOSAL WOULD NOT WORK. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, I FORESAW NO PROSPECT THAT US FORCES WOULD HAVE CONSTRUCTION FUNDS IN THE AMOUNTS INVOLVED. I EMPHASIZED THAT A MORE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM WAS RAISED BY FACT THAT, EVEN AFTER OHIRA VIEW IN MARCH 1973, THE GOJ HAD ENTERED INTO DETAILED JFAP AGREEMENT IN JOINT COMMITTEE (JULY 1973). IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, I SAID, USG IS LIKELY TO REGARD GOJ UNWILLINGNESS TO CARRY THROUGH ON MISAWA PROJECTS AS GIVING PRIORITY TO DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS OVER BINDING GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENTS, RAISING WORRISOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WHOLE JFAP PACKAGE AND THE VIABILITY OF THE US MILITARY PRESENCE IN JAPAN. I EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO WORK WITH GOJ TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS IT FACES, BUT TO DO THIS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE JFAP AGREEMENT.

7. MIYAZAWA REPLIED THAT QTE THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT WE ARE GOING BACK ON OUR WORD UNQTE BUT ASKED THAT USG QTE NOT DOUBT THE HONESTY OF THE POLITICAL ASSESSMENT UNQTE REACHED BY HIM AND OHIRA. HE SAW BUT THREE CHOICES: (1) TO DROP THE MISAWA PROJECTS OUTRIGHT; (2) TO RISK DEFEAT OF THE BUDGET; OR (3) TO ARRANGE SOME KIND OF TRADEOFF WITH THE U.S. I REITERATED THAT I SAW NO WAY TO ACCOMMODATE THIS PROPOSAL, AND SAID SOME OTHER APPROACH WAS NEEDED. I TOLD MIYAZAWA THAT THE PROPOSAL THREATENED TO UNDO THE WHOLE CHAIN OF PROJECTS CONTEMPLATED UNDER JFAP.

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8. MIYAZAWA THEN SAID THERE MIGHT BE SOME POSSIBILITY OF SQUEEZING THESE ITEMS INTO THE YEAR END SUPPLEMENTAL BUDGET, SINCE THAT BUDGET INCLUDES BONUSES AND RICE PRICE INCREASES AND THUS MIGHT BE MORE DIFFICULT TO OVERTURN. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT GOJ WOULD STILL HAVE PROBLEM OF OHIRA VIEW AND LEFT THIS SUGGESTION IN MID-AIR. AT CONCLUSION OF MEETING, HE SUGGESTED THAT EXPERTS FROM BOTH SIDES STUDY PROBLEM FURTHER.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7559

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 1055

EXDIS

9. COMMENT: WE HAD HOPED THAT MY FLAT REJECTION OF MIYAZAWA PROPOSAL WOULD PROMPT FONMIN TO BACK OFF AND SEARCH FOR SOME OTHER WAY AROUND THE PROBLEM WHICH HE FORESEES IN THE DIET. EMBASSY SOUGHT TO ENCOURAGE THIS BY OFFERING TO MEET WITH WORKING LEVEL OF FOEING OFFICE TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE POSSIBILITIES. BY JANUARY 24, HOWEVER, IT WAS APPARENT THAT NO NEW IDEAS WERE EMERGING, AND WE HAD IMPRESSION THAT THOSE MOST DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN FOREIGN MINISTRY, INCLUDING VICE MINISTER TOGO, AND IN JDA FELT THAT MIYAZAWA WAS FIRMLY LOCKED INTO HIS DECISION NOT TO GO FORWARD WITH FUNDING OF MISAWA PROJECTS.

10. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO WHAT EXTENT MIYAZAWA'S ASSESSMENT OF POLITICAL RISKS AND HIS DECISION TO BACK AWAY FROM JFAP AGREEMENT CONCERNING MISAWA IS SHARED BY OTHERS IN GOJ AND IN LDP. CONTRARY TO MIYAZAWA'S ACCOUNT THAT HE AND OHIRA HAD REACHED JOINT CONCLUSION, YAMAZAKI INFORMED US ON JANUARY 18 THAT AFTER MIYAZAWA-OHIRA MEETING, OHIRA HAD LEFT MATTER TO MIYAZAWA'S DECISION. WE HAVE REASON TO WONDER WHETHER MIYAZAWA HAS CONSULTED WITH LDP EXECUTIVES ON BUDGET COMMITTEE WHO APPEAR TO PLAY SUCH A LARGE PART IN HIS CALCULATIONS OF THE POLITICAL PROBLEM. WE ALSO HAVE SOME DOUBT THAT MIYAZAWA HAS CONSULTED WITH PRIME MINISTER, DESPITE IMPLICATIONS OF HIS PROPOSAL FOR RELATIONS WITH US. WITHIN FOREIGN MINISTRY, IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT TOGO, OKAWARA (WHO INTIMATELY INVOLVED IN FORMULATING JFAP AGREEMENT) AND YAMAZAKI ARE DISMAYED BY IMPLICATIONS OF FOREIGN MINISTER'S DECISION FOR US-JAPAN RELATIONS AND WOULD PROBABLY PREFER TO TAKE CHANCES
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WITH BUDGET COMMITTEE.

11. EMBASSY CAN OFFER ONLY LIMITED ASSESSMENT OF MIYAZAWA'S POLITICAL JUDGMENT ON THIS PROBLEM. AS REPORTED ELSEWHERE, IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT MIYAZAWA PERSONALLY IS LEERY OF BEING FORCED TO DEFEND UNPOPULAR POSITIONS. THERE IS, OF COURSE, NO DOUBT THAT BUDGET PROVIDES OPPOSITION WITH ITS BEST OPPORTUNITY FOR ATTACKING GOVERNMENT, AND THAT GOJ AND LDP HAVE ALWAYS BEEN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE ABOUT INTRODUCTION OF DIFFICULT SECURITY TREATY ISSUES INTO BUDGET DEBATE. NOR IS THERE ANY DOUBT THAT REJECTION OR REVISION OF BUDGET UNDER PRESSURE WOULD HAVE SERIOUS POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND LDP GENERALLY. AS A SIGN OF CONSERVATIVE WEAKNESS, IT WOULD BE UNPRECEDENTED IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD. THIS ARGUMENT CUTS BOTH WAYS, THOUGH, SINCE IT COULD BE USED TO ARGUE NEED FOR LDP TO STAY IN LINE BEHIND AGREEMENT WITH USG.

12. RECOMMENDATION: I BELIEVE THAT USG MUST PROMPTLY REJECT MIYAZAWA PROPOSAL STRONGLY AND IN FORTHRIGHT TERMS. PROPOSAL CLEARLY IS BASED ON DECISION TO SUBORDINATE UNEQUIVOCAL AGREEMENT WITH US TO DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONCERNS. MIYAZAWA VIRTUALLY ADMITTED AS MUCH IN TALK WITH ME. I RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THAT I BE INSTRUCTED TO CONVEY FIRM USG REJECTION OF THE PROPOSAL, BUT AT SAME TIME RENEWING MY OFFER TO SEARCH FOR SOME OTHER SOLUTION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF AGREEMENT.

13. IN MAKING THIS RECOMMENDATION, I APPRECIATE THAT MIYAZAWA MAY NOT QUICKLY BACK OFF POSITION HE HAS TAKEN. HE UNDOUBTEDLY WAS FULLY AWARE OF IMPLICATIONS WITH RESPECT TO JFAP AND RELATED FINANCIAL AGREEMENTS WHEN HE REACHED HIS DECISION. NONETHELESS, ISSUES INVOLVED ARE OF SUCH IMPORTANCE THAT I FEEL WE MUST NOT HESITATE TO TAKE STRONG STAND AND DRIVE HOME TO MIYAZAWA THE BROADER IMPLICATIONS OF HIS DECISION FOR US-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP EVEN AT RISK OF PROTRACTED IMPASSE WITH GOJ OVER THIS ISSUE.

14. REQUEST DEPARTMENT REPEAT THIS MESSAGE TO SECDEF, CINCPAC AND COMUSJAPAN.
HODGSON

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